/218 cont./

101 174 the Caiuás (4) may have sprung from these. Many of them

4. Caiuás is probably a corruption of the name Caingué, which means forest people. (Caa = forest, gué = people.)

speak of relatives in Paraguay and occasionally undertake visits there. In some cases their Portuguese is mixed with bits of Spanish. I therefore believe that it is not a mistake if I see in the Caiuás immigrant Indians who stand in the closest relationship with the Paraguayan Tembecuá. --

361 Their present-day dwelling sites are to be found largely in the Dourados municipality in the southern Mato Grosso. The center of the municipality is the small town of Dourados, which has grown considerably in recent years.

657 361 The Indian Protective Service post "Francisco Horta" lies four kilometers from the town; six kilometers from there the village of Farinha Seca, where Chief João lives. Additional villages follow: Boróro and Cerrito, which are close together, and the more distant Panambi with 400 souls. -- A day's journey by truck leads to another government post named Tehycué. [241] At these points and at a few others, all in the area of posts of the Protective Service, the Caiuás live in villages entirely by [464] themselves and have their own plantings. -- Outside of these villages there are individual Indians who work for landholders or lead unsettled lives. Moreover, a few families have isolated themselves, as I have reported elsewhere (5).

[113] 5. Cf. "Verstreute Indianerdörfer im Südosten des Matto Grosso /Scattered Indian Villages in the Southeastern Part of the Mato Grosso/." (Manuscript.)

2: Schaden--16 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes [648] Tafligná, Apapokúva, and Ognahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 178 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dis-[166] solution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal 621 162 166 in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestiços), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestiços. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the en-[768] tire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because [755] of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treat-• [464] ments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazendas in the Itanhaém region.

621 182 563 Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region.

621 433 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

/15 cont./ At
621 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have fre-
[177] quent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
[735] and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordi-
733 nary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the vil-
[464] lage.

[184] In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
[157] women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/ one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious, hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

[361] Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, close to the Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
[177] Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The results are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
[114] of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
[162] post, besides some mestiços. Contacts with the caboclo popula-
[177] tion of the region are not infrequent.

[361] Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu, about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Mangueirinha, inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
621 of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
162 the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbüá subgroup and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
[114] men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbüá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others from Palmeirinha. The village -- tüldo, as it is called there -- made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó and Xapecòzinho, near the confluence. I did not have the op-
[114] portunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
[464] for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/ Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at tillage as day laborers.

/17 cont./

361 Amambai (Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant), one league from the city of the same name (ex-Uniño), in southern Mato 62 Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 470 Guaraní Indians [162] were registered at the post, all of the Kayová subgroup. Some Ñandéva who had settled in the village were expelled by the • [168] Kayová capitão. For some months of the year almost all of the Indians of Amambai, like the other small nuclei of the region, hire themselves out as yerba maté workers, being eagerly sought by [114] the patrons. I worked at the post in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Taquapiri (Reserva Córrego Pereó), a Kayová nucleus under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant, close to the Paraguayan border, two leagues from the town of Antônio Dias (ex-Ñuverá). Some 200 Guaraní live there, almost all of the Kayová subgroup. I visited the community in June of 1949. It is the nucleus in which the Watson couple worked in 1943.

Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant. The village, located in [361] the extreme south of Mato Grosso, between the Rio Iguatemi and the Serra de Maracaju, extends to within half a league of the Paraguayan border. The great majority of the inhabitants are [162] Ñandéva, whose culture does not seem to have suffered profound [177] transformations through contact with inhabitants of other ethnic origins. Some of them came from nearby nuclei on the other [162] side of the /18/ border; some even say they were born in Vila Iguatemi in Paraguay, and one or another already seems not to be [114] pure Indian, but creole mestizo. When I stayed with them in June of 1949, I counted about 120 persons.

161 Summarizing, one might say that the Guaraní tribe, which in
131 past centuries dominated large areas of the southern States of Brazil
648 and neighboring territories in Uruguay, the Republic of Argentina, and Paraguay, is now reduced to a few thousand individuals, the majority of whom, except those who live in eastern Paraguay and in the Argentine territory of Misiones, do not occupy large and concrete areas, but are confined to small reservations or villages under official protection or even administration.

2: Schaden--37 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/35 cont./

342 [596] The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground: the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/; but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

178 433 • 464 594 [177] The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new conditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption. The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbales in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

342 345 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambi; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cêrro Perô. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

[123] [552] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

2: Schaden--51 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/47 cont./

244 221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (mandúí) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 464 221 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food" is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. And since the changa is one of the few means [434] available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is [245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/, inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the 177 182 241 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 796 221 To the extent that a social and religious calender exists, it is that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the Nemongaraí, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, avatí-243 221 [171] mongaraí, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Birket-Smith, 1943, p. 33.

/180 cont./

181 In accordance with the essentially mystic orientation of
182 Guaraní culture, the subsistence activities in it are focalized less
177 insistently than religious problems. Even further, in economic work, particularly tillage, there inheres as sacred character, which requires the performance of a cycle of religious ceremonies parallel to the agricultural one. In a general way, the acculturative crisis -- and in this the Guaraní are distinguished from many other native tribes -- is progressively exacerbated through the intensification of the mysticism peculiar to the tribal conception of the world. On the one hand, the importance of the religious ideals in the traditional value system is responsible for the violence of the conflict between the cultures; on the other hand, in the situation of insecurity and poverty stemming from the contacts with foreign people, the Guaraní, instead of developing more rational and positive mental attitudes, reacts on the emotional plane, by means of a more and more intense recrudescence of his mystical experi-
[156] ences. It is a vicious circle, which in the majority of cases results in practically insoluble personality conflicts, principally in the individuals of the male sex whose cultural participation converges more to the nuclear and determinant values of the system, while the women, of more practical sense, are more constantly
[464] /181/ subject to the cares of the economic sphere. The difficulties of the acculturative crisis, by the way, also originate in part from the fact that it is the men, and not the women, who are forced to adopt the economic behavior and regular patterns of work, like the changa /hired labor/ on the fazendas and the yerbales /yerba maté plantations or districts/, in order to earn the money indispensable for the satisfaction of the new needs.

[241] In the groups that live in such conditions that the subsistence
[224] activities can continue to develop according to the ancient norms, tillage predominates in general, in spite of the fact that the techniques of cultivation are rudimentary and the pleasures of hunting excite more interest, the latter, incidentally, the privilege of the
[135] male sex. During the phases of less intense association with foreign groups, quite stable equilibrium is maintained among the different subsistence activities, the disnivellation and impoverishment becoming more marked in proportion to the degree that

3: Schaden--231 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

181 /181 cont./
182 recourse to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercializa-
177 tion of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact
735 prevails.

Since Guaraní society does not give prestige to individuals
177 according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there
433 is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized
18 as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the
[554] "indolence" which is imputed to the half-caboclolzed Guaraní,
who works irregularly, disdains comfort, does not save, does not
know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy
the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong
inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for
economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the cul-
ture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the tra-
ditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new
177 objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened
433 in other places, the Guaraní still have the advantage of finding
• 464 in the yerba maté industry a field of application for their aptitude
18 as gatherers, in the same way as, for example, the Terêno and
Kaduvêo /Caduveo/ apply their knowledge of shepherding and
their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock
fazendas. But the changa in the yerbales does not provide them
with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely be-
cause it does not promote the replacement of the primitive im-
mediatism of the tribal culture by a spirit of prescience of the
future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the
changa "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the
yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbi-
tant price, including the products of the /182/ fields, such as
batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end
in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages,
of which, however, nothing is left over.

177 The need to face new economic demands causes more or less
18 radical transformations in the family organization. As the com-
596 munitary economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of
chief traditionally exercised by the father, including matters of

2: Schaden

SM4 Guarani SM4

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/For general information on the puxirão or collective labor organization, see category 476./

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

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[464]

have been precisely in the region where the Cayuá live. Cayuá were occasionally employed as workers by the company—although Paraguayans seem to be preferred for most of the back-breaking, miserably paid types of work which are the lot of the Indians and *mestisos*. The *maté* enterprise in Mato Grosso has, therefore, been another and recent avenue of acculturational contact for the Cayuá. The extension of a large scale development of the *maté* resources north from Paraguay, however, was but a modernized version of the same type of forest exploitation which had long been going on to the south and which had, since the days before the Jesuits, brought the Paraguayans into intermittent contact with the forest-dwelling peoples.

Unlike cattle and *maté*, which were directly responsible for bringing small numbers of settlers to the region itself, the moving forward of the coffee frontier in São Paulo affected directly only those Cayuá who had migrated across the Rio Paraná. But the westward advance of coffee cultivation in the late 19th and 20th centuries did bring Neo-Brazilians closer to the eastern frontier of Mato Grosso and tended to strengthen settlements already there. Moreover, some immigrants spilled over into the newer state when they felt the need of new lands to conquer.

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By 1914 a narrow gauge railroad had been laid, connecting São Paulo centers with the Mato Grosso cattle town of Campo Grande. Several trains a week began to arrive from Baurú in São Paulo state (where a "Guarani" reservation was still located when Nimuendajú made his Apapocuvá study). A few more years saw the railroad push on almost to Corumbá on the Paraguay River. Thus nearly the entire southern, and narrower, section of the state of Mato Grosso—which lies between the two rivers—was girded, from the Paraná to the Paraguay.[118]

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[361]

Although the *Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil* lay several hundred miles to the north of Taquapiri, other Cayuá villages were located as much as half the distance closer to the line. The general influence of the railroad was felt in the opening up of communication to the east and in the increasing flow of goods from Brazilian ports and coastal city industries. Trade goods, with little doubt, became considerably easier for the Indians to obtain at this time whereas they had been difficult enough even for the white settlers before. Here and there throughout the southern part of the state, in tiny Neo-Brazilian hamlets and in the few small towns, general stores or trading posts

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[118] "*A Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil*," still a narrow gauge line, is today (1943) operated with no important improvements in rail or rolling stock since its inception. It is the only railroad in southern Mato Grosso, or, indeed, in the entire enormous state, unless one considers the little "Madeira-Mamoré" line in the north. (This is nothing but a rail connection between fluvial communications on those two rivers.) The "*Noroeste do Brasil*" is ultimately destined, by an international treaty long since signed, to be a joint Bolivian-Brazilian enterprise giving inland Bolivia a continuous rail connection with Campinas, São Paulo, and the port of Santos, and hence a fairly effective outlet to the sea. Recently a small branch line has been built from the main *Noroeste* line south to the Brazilian town of Ponta Porá, on the Paraguay frontier. This will further stimulate Neo-Brazilian penetration, consolidation, and development of the region.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

little beyond casual inspection and brief questioning of the local officers. Taquapiri has a *capitão* and a *sargento*, in part selected and by necessity approved by the *encarregado*.[118] *Sargento* and *capitão* have tacitly understood, though quite limited, authority and prerogatives now but no pay, badge of office, nor other special considerations. If any difficulty arises which could not conceivably die of its own accord, the *encarregado* may be compelled to intervene; otherwise, he might not even hear of it or would choose to ignore the report. The *encarregado* of "Benjamin Constant" stated in 1943 that he had not been visited by nor himself gone to see the chief of the region of which his post is an administrative part for a considerable number of years. All in all, the policy of the SPI toward the Cayuá is largely a passive or negative one, at least in its net effect. Certainly no program was in evidence which was calculated to introduce large-scale, consciously directed change. That undirected change of significance may come about in any case, however, is quite evident from the visible results of SPI activity or lack of it.

By far the most important single channel of acculturational influence at the present is the practice of local settlers to employ Cayuá to work for them in their clearings (*roças*) as "peons" (*peões*). The employment of Indians is not necessarily linked to any large-scale activity which makes it indispensable for the settlers to have more labor than their own families provide but is partly related to prestige factors in the local Neo-Brazilian culture.[119] At any rate, the practice results in a larger number of contacts between Neo-Brazilians and Cayuá (men) and for longer periods of time than any other of the gamut of local white-Indian relations. Although great intimacy could hardly be claimed for the relations of *peão* and *patrão*, they are at least as intimate as any others between Cayuá and settler. The *peão-patrão* relationship is discussed in detail under a subsequent heading (see pp. 75–78), but it may be emphasized here that men are almost exclusively involved in these inter-ethnic relations. At Taquapiri only a handful of men speak Portuguese with any proficiency, and many speak it not at all. But there is not a single woman in the village who can speak Portuguese (or Spanish) except for a few loan-words, mostly borrowed along with the alien culture traits to which they refer.[120] Thus among the Cayuá, as in many places elsewhere in the world, where comparable acculturational situations have occurred, the women are perforce the cultural conservators.

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[118] The use of these titles, largely as honorific appellations, seems to derive from the early colonial period when the Europeans sought to curry favor with certain individuals by thus flattering them.

[119] Cf. Watson, V. D., 1945, pp. 159–160.

[120] The same acculturational difference between men and women may not everywhere be as great among Cayuá, but the condition generally holds.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[120]

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[121]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not.

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *changa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *bolicho* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapiri—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *changa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokwé* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *puĺirão* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *puĺirão* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *cãuí'* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are.

[120] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[121] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *cãuí'* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

465 The goods with which the Cayuá is remunerated for his work for Brazilians
648 are usually white trade goods, or less commonly money, and it is for trade
goods that he actually works. There would be little sense, of course, in working
• 464 for things which he himself also produces in agriculture. The few individuals
511 who "specialise" in wage work as a result of this modern alternative, *changa*,
are usually long on white trade goods and short on the food crops produced in
the Cayuá *kolwé*. Such a man may have, in Cayuá terms, a good machete, a
hoe, and an axe, and good clothes on his own back and for his wife and children.
He perhaps even owns a pig (which, of course, he has no means of feeding
properly), or a horse, and probably has other things of value he has received
from his *patrão*. This same individual may also have the poorest *kolwé* in the
village and hence will have scant to eat oftentimes, although he is otherwise
[438] much better situated than his fellows. One cannot readily barter the white
trade goods for sufficient food, either with the Brazilians or with other Cayuá.
The "market" is not yet that flexible; the various goods are not freely con-
vertible in terms of each other or of money. Moreover, *changa* is usually in-
efficient from this point of view, although few Cayuá seem to realise it. They
are often cheated by the Brazilians, or paid poorly for their work when no
[466] literal cheating takes place. They are commonly charged for their "board,"
that is, for the meager fare they receive from the *patrão* while staying on his
property for several days' work. Frequently much of what the *peão* earns he
is encouraged to consume in the form of cheap *aguardente*. This, of course,
• 177 costs the Cayuá considerably more than it originally cost the settler.[272]
464 A sort of *changa* or working for hire is now occurring on a limited scale
465 among the Cayuá themselves. This new development suggests the manner in
which modern commercial modes of thought and behavior may invade a cul-
ture with a primitive economy, and shows how far this has taken place at
Taquapiri. For example, one Cayuá merely agrees to pay another so much in
cloth, or whatever it may be (usually white trade goods), in exchange for
hoeing a certain area or planting so much manioc. A single informant was able
to mention four or five different instances of this arrangement with which he
was acquainted, and he knew the terms of two of them. Interestingly enough,
the kinship of this "internal *changa*" to its Neo-Brazilian model is even borne
out in the Cayuá allusion to the arrangement as "*changa*" and their joking
references to the Indian employer as a "*patrão*." The scale of pay seems to be
about the same as that prevailing outside the village with Neo-Brazilians, but
one informant said that he would prefer to work for settlers because the pay
was better.[273]

[273] [272] The desire for alcohol seems to be an active factor in the excessive work in *changa* of at least one Cayuá at Taquapiri. Selling alcoholic beverages to Indians is said to be a Brazilian federal offense.

[273] One case of bad faith was observed in which the Cayuá "patrão" paid his worker in ad-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 Sh46 Guarani Sh46

There is some tendency for the internal *changa* workers to be women rather than men. They are often widows or divorced women who must support themselves, with partial assistance from a brother or a father. In the present situation, these women cannot work in *changa* for Brazilians. While some widows keep *kokwé* of their own or maintain a part of the *kokwé* of the relative with whom they live, such activity does not usually provide them with the trade goods, particularly cloth, that all Cayuá now need. Internal *changa* for fellow villagers, in exchange for trade goods or cash, is one solution. Women are not exclusively involved in the internal *changa*, however, as one of the most consistent internal *changa* workers is Inácio, a man who also has probably the largest *kokwé* of his own in the whole village. Inácio never works for Neo-Brazilians, possibly because he can not speak Portuguese and would therefore be cheated or would be unable to deal with them to his interest.[86]

The possibility of hiring other Cayuá to work for him in the *kokwé* seems to be one of the best solutions for the man who spends too much time abroad working for his *patrão*. It is a rather circular arrangement, of course, but one more or less in keeping with increasing specialization. It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to think that the internal *changa* is already a commonplace at Taquapiri. One main reason why the practice is still not resorted to on a larger scale among the Cayuá is that the need and the possibility for it are not yet very great. It is presumably also true, therefore, that the number of individuals desiring wage work of their fellows is not large either. At present, the internal *changa* serves as little more than an occasional convenience and probably is not a necessary recourse for any but a few individuals. Indeed, practically everyone is still his own farmer. But presumably the few cases of Cayuá wage employment typify acculturative changes which, now that they are introduced, will ultimately become effective on a larger scale.

Changa work for Brazilians is one of the most intensive channels for acculturative change of attitudes that exists. In no other connection do the Cayuá come into so frequent contact with the Neo-Brazilian, nor for such periods of time, or under such relatively intimate circumstances. The Cayuá *peão* often leaves his village for several days or a week at a time, unless his *patrão* happens to be one of the few living within easy distance of Taquapiri. During this work period he will usually stay on the property of his *patrão* in rough quarters provided for the purpose. He will be fed from the kitchen of the *patrão*, or will at least receive raw materials for cooking if he has brought his wife and family along with him. During the day he works in the field of the

vance, and the worker never did the contracted work. This individual happened to be a man with very shallow roots in the village, and he left Taquapiri altogether before performing the work.

[86] This same reason, that of not being able to speak Portuguese in order to deal with a *patrão*, is given in the case of another Cayuá who is reputed one of the best agricultural workers at Taquapiri.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 Sh44 Gunrnal Sh44

Neo-Brazilian and oftentimes he may be accompanied in this or supervised by the settler himself. Supervision is not usually necessary from the point of view of the Neo-Brazilian in order to get his money's worth, however, because pay is almost always on a piece-work basis. The only known exceptions are unusual types of work for which no standard of pay exists. Without exception, the Cayuá who speak the best Portuguese or Spanish (this is a border region) are those who work in *changa*. Men almost exclusively are involved in this type of acculturation, and the linguistic difference between men and women seems to give some measure of the acculturation differential between them. No Taquapiri woman speaks Portuguese; not all men do either, and few men speak the language well, but some do.

A limited sort of paternalism grows up in the case of some of the longer standing relationships of *peão* and *patrão*, that is, in cases where the same *peão* works consistently for the same Neo-Brazilian. It is usually to the interest of the settler (though all do not agree) to find a good worker and to make that individual feel attached to him. Thus he can always count upon a *peão* when he needs work done. Sometimes this attachment is accomplished by the well-known "continued indebtedness" hold. In this the settler, at the end of a period of work, arranges to have the Cayuá still owing him something. Consequently the *peão* must return there to work the next time rather than find another *patrão* whom he might possibly prefer. Other times, however, a definite effort is made by the *patrão* to create the impression that he is looking after the peon's best interests, that he will take care of him as far as seeing that the Cayuá is kept in cloth and salt, has a machete, and similar paternalistic relations. A Cayuá who accedes to such a continued relationship is known, naturally, as an "*índio bom*," somewhat as in the South of the United States certain lower caste individuals are distinguished as "good" Negroes. Often the settler, or more likely his wife, will "baptize" the children of the *peão*, in other words, suggest Brazilian Christian names to give them. Between such individual Cayuá and settlers there is a limited and highly circumscribed intimacy, a friendship between unequals. Such friendship cannot exist between the average Cayuá and the average Brazilian who usually have very little or nothing to do with each other, though there may often be some mutual knowledge of names and the more obvious personal details. A third to a half or more of the Cayuá at Taquapiri who consistently work in *changa* have more or less fixed relations with particular *patrões*, though these may not run more than a few years in some cases. Some of the rest may work as much in *changa* but do not work as constantly for any one *patrão*. As the time of year approaches when they need cloth or other trade goods and feel that they can give a week or so from their own work, unattached *peões* are more likely to go out looking for *changa* with the first settler to offer a satisfactory arrangement. *Peões* with steady *patrões* are somewhat more subject to the plans of their particular employers.

3c Watson E-4.8 (1943) 1952 Rh64 Charrua Rh61

not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different with winnowing trays or sieves. All Brazilians knowledgable in the neighborhood, as well as those of the Indigenous, pound their corn in wooden mortars and require these trays to sift the corn from the coarser which needs more pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolichos* which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly desirable article, however, as the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of production. Specialization in the manufacture of sieves has already been mentioned.

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white settlers or to the *bolichos* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of commercial relations with the outside than the change. The Cayuá is less sure of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnowing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter. Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in Cayuá products than from change are either non-persons or work very little in change.

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[90] Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods (and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Non-Brazilians in trade and change, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A mão of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a quarto (roughly a quarter of an alqueire, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many cruzeiros; a winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so

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native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guaraní-speakers of the south of Brazil and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of using the bed, if he wishes.

[90] Cross, 1939.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

that the goal is not the same for all members of the work party.[10] The contemporary *puĭirão* is no more cooperative, in our present sense, then, than the aboriginal one. Nor is there any regular work cooperation today on the basis of an extended family. Indeed, the *puĭirão* largely serves now and is almost the only expression of obligations of relatives and others to assist each other in their regular work. But such collective work of kinsmen does not mean cooperation toward a mutual goal, such as a joint food supply; it means only helping some individual with his own, respective, private work. Thus the existence of the present *puĭirão* is no counterbalance for the loss of extended family cooperation and the increase of elementary family individualism. 178* 476

Commercialism can be stated as economic rationalism, a tendency to appraise factors of economic importance more in terms of conscious, measurable, tangible economic goods or appreciable economic advantage, and to appraise them less in terms of non-economic values. Present Cayuá tendencies toward commercialism can be seen in their economic relations with Neo-Brazilians, in trade, and in the *changa*. Here rather undiluted economic self-interest tends to prevail and the arbitrary concept of money value is being applied to more and more goods and services. These facts contrast with the aboriginal absence of a price concept and the tendency to evaluate goods and services in other terms than self interest. Commercialistic attitudes exist among the present Cayuá to the extent to which they weigh cost against gain and rationally assess in directly economic terms the advantage of different possible courses of action. The joint economic production of the extended family of old and the collective working arrangements of the *puĭirão* are in some sense the opposite of commercialism. Each individual's contribution to this enterprise was not weighed and balanced in economic terms against the gain he privately derived from it. The reigning principle was one of kinship or friendship obligations; the satisfaction derived was measured by no standard economic unit of value. (This also applies in part to the present *puĭirão*, of course.) Against the old values modern Cayuá arrangements in trading and wage work for whites stand out sharply. Commercialistic attitudes and dispositions to act have, moreover, penetrated farther than Cayuá dealings with whites. Two developments within Cayuá society, already mentioned, are evidence of the extent to which this has occurred. These are the development of pure and money barter among Cayuá within their own village and the internal *changa*. Internal trade is now taking place on a small but significant scale. "Significant" here has to be understood against the background of a very low degree of economic specialization in which there is relatively little cause for trade in the same village between one Cayuá and another. Commodities such as rice (which only a few Cayuá now plant), as well as chickens (which a larger number possess), are now traded, and trans- 178* 433 648 178* 438 464

[10] Mead, 1937, pp. 16-17.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 438 • 464 actions take place even in the more traditional products of the Cayuá. These products may now and then be in short supply for some families, perhaps toward the end of the season, just before planting and the coming of the new crop. There is little doubt that both "internal" *change* and intra-village trade are extensions of practices which the Cayuá have come to know primarily from [648] their economic relations with whites. Relations with Neo-Brazilians have been and are today strong forces in favor of the growth of economic rationalism or commercialism.

*178 433 Theoretically there may be no necessary relation between "individualism" and "commercialism." In the case of the Cayuá, however, it is justifiable to treat them together. Many of the same factors which historically reinforced Cayuá commercialism also favored Cayuá individualism. The two attitudes have had somewhat complementary roles, and the growing commercialism of Cayuá economic outlook apparently closely paralleled a growing self-interest in relations among members of the society. (A growing individualism, however, might theoretically have developed without a necessary growth of commercial- [594] ism.) First is the basic production-consumption unit now made up of only the individual Cayuá male, his spouse, and his unmarried children—the elementary family. The separate economic role of the elementary family could only come into being at the expense of certain former cooperative or collective [476] sentiments and usages. There has been an increase in the attitude of primary self-interest, a partial divorce of purely economic considerations from aspects of helpfulness, jointness, and reciprocity, such as in the joint work party, and a decrease in cooperative activity, such as expressed in the former extended family. It is coming to be considered not only canny but proper for a Cayuá to sell to his fellows goods or services they may need, that is, to discuss with them in advance the terms of the exchange. Jointness or communalism of feeling, as cultural values, are thus lessened in favor of commercialism and indi- [736] vidualism. A Cayuá may now sometimes offer a friend so much in return for a specified amount of work, and a man may make this sort of offer even to a widowed sister who lives with him. Former attitudes toward cooperation and helpfulness along kin (and hence non-rational) lines have therefore diminished in deference to an appreciation of the objective economic expression (commercialism) of purely individual interests. New economic attitudes and usages, especially trade and wage work, coupled with a reduction of the size of the basic production-consumption unit to the monogamous elementary family, are the Cayuá ingredients of commercialism and individualism alike.

Increasing competition among the Cayuá is not necessarily implied in the present argument—that is, the goal of exceeding one's fellows for the pleasure this in itself may bring. A decrease in cooperation and the growth of individualism and commercialism, to be sure, are not antithetical to competition. But, at the same time, commercialism and individualism are not tantamount

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade, agriculture would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation.

Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction of trade goods and of trading posts (I. e.) has tended further to establish the importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire trade goods, and one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (male) labor, (I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture (though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men in *changa* is usually agricultural. Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that practiced by the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned, wage-work provides little or no alternative or change from own production and may have the reinforcing effect suggested.

II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations. Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayuá aboriginally were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial shelters that must have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting and gathering without trespassing on the property of white settlers who object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least those of some groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is access to canoe travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting and fishing activity as former mobility with the canoe presumably permitted.

The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. d.), the reduction of the aboriginal supply of game animals. This has occurred because of

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work to be accomplished but for the individual to do it single-handedly." The efficiency of the modern Cayuá worker in agriculture has but a single important acculturational cause (I. b.), the introduction of metal cutting implements. Particularly important are the machete, the axe, and the hoe, as has been mentioned. Compared with whatever aboriginal substitutes, there can be little question of the much greater efficiency of these metal tools. 177* 182 241 412

In some sense, however, the several factors making for an increase in agriculture were generally influential here; otherwise there might have been no occasion for the individual to increase his agricultural efficiency and productivity. Obviously the relationship is close, and the distinction herewith of a separate item, the efficiency of the worker, must be justified by its later application in the analysis. 177* 182 241

II. A. d. "A loss or diminution of certain native industries." The loss of native industries is a common acculturational effect, and there are a number of common causes. The primary cause in the Cayuá instance is (I. e.), the introduction of trade goods. Particularly significant have been trade goods which will substitute adequately for aboriginal handicraft products. Among these, for example, are the iron pots, bottles, and tin cans which have so successfully all but killed the native ceramic industry. Weaving has suffered much with the introduction of machine-made textiles, obtainable at the *bolichos*, and has been handicapped also by the change to clothing styles for which store cloth is more adaptable than aboriginal loomwork. 177* 182 439 [415] [323] [286]

At the same time, some white trade items, such as (I. b.), metal tools, have had a contrary effect. Knives and machetes particularly have made certain crafts easier, largely crafts where cutting or splitting processes are important. This is evident in the preparation of vegetable fibers for weaving and tying, or the splitting of rattan for baskets and strainers. Such technological improvement, however, has not appreciably counteracted the decline of native industries whose products find ready trade goods substitutes. [412] [322] [285]

By extension, factors which have enhanced trade relations between the Cayuá and the Neo-Brazilians have contributed to the loss or decrease of native industries. Aboriginal handicraft industries have thus been adversely affected by (I. f.) the growth of an external market for male Cayuá labor. Moreover, besides providing one more way in which the Cayuá may obtain trade goods substitutes, the *changa* (II. A. e.) in many cases occupies a great deal of work time. Frequently much of the time remaining after his own agricultural work is completed is used by the Cayuá in *changa* for local whites. The *changa* thus occupies some of the time formerly devoted to handicrafts. [464]

The development of a small market for certain Cayuá products, including craft items, has also influenced the status of Cayuá handicrafts. The effect of a market (I. g.), however, has been to some extent ambivalent. On the one hand, the modern emphasis, in agricultural production, of a surplus which can

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be exchanged for trade goods has tended to cause a larger part of male working time to be spent in agriculture. On the whole, this must imply less emphasis on craft production. In addition, of course, the greater accessibility of trade goods through this means, as already mentioned, favors a lesser dependence upon Cayuá craft production.

But certain Cayuá craft articles themselves command a price on the part of the whites, and this has obviously tended to favor the corresponding skills. Very few Cayuá craft items are of interest to whites, actually, but strainers or winnowers and occasional hammocks, for example, are in some demand. Items traded to the whites are naturally those for which no suitable trade goods substitutes exist. The overall influence, however, of (I. g.) a small Neo-Brazilian market for Cayuá products has been to cut down craft production in some lines while it has favored craft production in the few items sometimes traded to whites. The net result is a decrease in the number of crafts—unless (as does not appear likely) new crafts, not known aboriginally, have been added to the Cayuá repertory. This concentrates remaining production in a smaller number of crafts.

II. A. e. "Labor relations with Neo-Brazilian settlers are established (*changa*), entailing dealings for white goods or for money, or in terms of it. (Incidentally, this is the most intensive and intimate present point of contact between the Cayuá and whites.)" The acculturational causes of the *changa* are primarily two: the introduction of white trade goods which the Cayuá learned to know and desire (I. e.), and (I. f.) the development of a market among the Neo-Brazilians for Cayuá male labor. In other words, the reasons for the development of the *changa* are that the whites had goods the Cayuá wanted, and labor was at the beginning about the only thing that the Cayuá could offer in return. The whites could use Cayuá labor in their agricultural production or forest extractive industries and came to desire and later even to demand a certain amount of work from the aborigines.

There is now some conflict with the *changa* in (I. g.) the existence of an external market for certain Cayuá agricultural and craft products. This market provides a possible alternative to wage work as a means for Cayuá to obtain white trade goods. Several Cayuá men have thus increased their plantings so as to be sure of a small crop surplus to exchange for trade goods. These individuals, as might be expected, include ones who rarely or never work in *changa*. Historically, however, the *changa* was probably developed and fairly well established before there was much question of a competing alternative method of obtaining trade goods. In other words, there was a regular white market for Cayuá services before any consistent white demand existed for Cayuá goods. This time relationship between conflicting acculturational factors naturally throws some light on the development of the *changa*.

The *changa* incidentally has tended to aid other trends in which white trade

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goods and metal tools are significant, since it has been the commonest way for Cayuá to obtain trade goods. The following are instances: increased agricultural production (i.e. in providing metal tools) (II. A. a.), (II. A. d.) the decrease or loss of certain Cayuá crafts (i.e. in providing trade goods substitutes), and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians (since the *changa* involves dealings with whites for goods and sometimes for money). The *changa* also occupies a certain amount of work time and in this sense has tended to conflict somewhat with (II. A. a.) the development of agriculture. In the same way it is a factor in the decline of such activities as hunting and fishing (II. A. b.). But the *changa* has tended to reinforce the Cayuá in their own agriculture, on the other hand, in the sense that it usually involves the same type of (agricultural) work. It has not, therefore, necessitated habituation to a different set of skills which might conflict with agriculture. Moreover, habituation to agricultural operations may have been of considerable account in the past when the Cayuá man, we are led to believe, was not the farmer he is today.

II. A. f. "Trade relations with Neo-Brazilians are established and increase. These involve both (1) buying white trade goods, and (2) selling small amounts of certain Cayuá products." Several acculturational causes have favored the establishment of trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Among the most important are the introduction of trade goods (I. b. and I. e.) which the Cayuá came to require, and (I. f.) the growth of a market for certain Cayuá goods, including a few craft products. The development of *changa* wage-work (II. A. e.) has fostered trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, and *changa* is now an important factor in the flow of goods and services. The development of aboriginal agriculture to a point where an occasional tradable surplus now exists (II. A. a.) has made possible the inclusion of certain agricultural produce in the limited two-way commerce between Cayuá and Neo-Brazilians.

SECONDARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

Having discussed II. A., primary or immediate effects of acculturation, we may turn to II. B., secondary or derived effects of acculturation. "Secondary Effects" are distinguished from "Primary Effects" as being on the whole less immediate in time to the conditions of white advent and less immediate in causal relation to these conditions. "Secondary Effects" are related through "Primary Effects" to the factors we have been treating as "Causes of Acculturation." "Primary Effects," therefore, are primary in the causal sense of the configuration under study, and "Secondary Effects" are in the same sense causally secondary or derived.

An example may suffice. The first "Secondary Effect" discussed below is (II. B. b.) "Individual economic differentiation." This effect is expressed both in the growing specialization of individuals in crafts and also in the increasingly clear alternatives for men of earning a living either in wage-work or, tradi-

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tionally, in their own clearings. It is clear that "individual economic differentiation" is secondary here to the existence of a system of wage-work. Likewise it is secondary to the decline of certain crafts and the development of specialists in the remaining ones. Yet these latter two contributory factors, though acculturational, are not the initial causes of acculturation, that is, are not themselves the facts of the white culture and its advent. They are already the *primary* or *immediate* effects of certain facts of white culture upon the culture of the Cayuá. An effect such as the economic differentiation of individual Cayuá is one step farther along and therefore is secondary to the initial effects of acculturation from which it is derived.

The following secondary effects of acculturation, then, are classed together as having in common that they are not immediate results of acculturational influences upon the Cayuá. They are cultural changes which have come about through the interrelatedness of various of the initial or primary acculturational effects described foregoing. There are implications of neither chronology nor relative significance in the order of discussion of the secondary effects.

II. B. b. "Individual economic differentiation: (1) increasing craft specialization among both men and women; (2) tendency toward male alternatives re extent of work in own agriculture or in *changa*." The acculturational causes of craft specialization are not far to seek. Former native products were in many cases ousted as the Cayuá came more and more to depend upon trade goods equivalents, as we have noted above (pp. 101–102), resulting in (II. A. d.) the loss or decline of several native industries. No longer does each adult male or female necessarily know even the craft skills that presently remain—let alone all of the aboriginal crafts once taken for granted. Yet, since some craft products are still actually used and needed, persons who lack the corresponding skills are obliged to depend for these items on other Cayuá who still retain their skills. The result is specialization.

Trade may also have aided in the specialization of remaining native industries (II. A. f.) because it inclines people to think of obtaining goods by other methods than producing them themselves. A Cayuá whose wife does not make hammocks may obtain one by exchanging some store cloth or other trade goods for it, or even by purchasing it for money, though the latter is rare. *Changa* and trade, therefore, have provided in some sense the possibility for successful limited craft specialization. The man who spends too much time in *changa* moreover, is not only able (by exchanging white goods thus acquired) but is practically obliged to obtain some of the Cayuá-produced things he needs from other Cayuá.

Although it is only incipient as yet, there is some reason to think that (II. A. e.) the *changa* will eventually take its place alongside Cayuá own production as a major means of earning a living. Wage work may never completely oust domestic production—and it is certainly far from even threatening to do so at the present time; but there are already, in the case of a few individuals,

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suggestions of the extent to which the one may interfere with the other. This is tantamount to saying that *changa* wage work may become an "alternative" (in Linton's sense) to home production—not merely, as it is at present, a somewhat optional adjunct, one possible means of acquiring desired trade goods. Whether the *changa* is to become more of an alternative or more of a complementary form of production, practiced side by side with their own agriculture by the same individuals, remains to be seen.

At the present time, it is not possible—or, at least, easy—for a Cayuá to spend most of his productive energy working for the existing form of wages. For one thing, the man who now works "too much" in *changa* does not produce certain necessary goods in sufficient quantity for himself. A number of new usages will be required before he is able to acquire these goods easily. For example, the exchange of money or trade goods for Cayuá goods—largely foodstuffs—must first become generally accepted. This means a regular market. That there is no dependable exchange of goods among the Cayuá at the present is actually one reason why the lot of the few who work extensively in *changa* is not generally considered satisfactory.[128]

The ultimate consequences of a wage-work alternative to Cayuá agriculture are of much significance. One conceivable result is de-tribalization, which might occur if the Cayuá came to form essentially a stratum of wage workers in the local Neo-Brazilian society. The eventual possibility, however, is only hinted at up to the present time.

II. B. a. "Division of labor by sex: men come to be more important in the work of agriculture."

> By common-sense arrangement the heavy work of felling trees for a clearing was the men's share, but planting, weeding and harvesting were feminine tasks. . . . However, the major change, [from female to male labor in the lighter agricultural activities] generally occurred when agriculture became a people's principal support so that hunting dropped out as an important occupation. Then the men turned farmers. . . .[129]

The general principle seems to apply to the changing sexual division of labor in Cayuá agriculture. In this sense, (II. A. a.) the increased scale and importance of agriculture and (II. A. b.) the decreased importance of hunting are probably the principal factors responsible for the change to basically male labor in farming.

Exactly why this should be so is perhaps more difficult to argue; that is,

[128] It is also true that the rate of return for work performed, in terms of the ultimate needs of the Cayuá, is now less in the *changa* than in Cayuá home production. The Cayuá would not easily recognize the fact because of the present relative non-convertibility of trade goods and home-produced goods. II. B. g., the idea of price in general and of prices for specific commodities is ever becoming more a part of Cayuá economic thinking. But present transactions are still so small in scale that it is impossible for the Cayuá to have any idea of the total value of what they produce in *changa* as compared to that produced in the same amount of time spent in their own *kowáh*.

[129] Lowie, 1946, p. 24.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

why should men take over more of the work of agriculture than formerly? Conceivably they might merely enjoy more leisure hours, since they no longer hunt so much; why necessarily increase their agricultural burdens, other things being equal? "Other things" were not equal in the Cayuá instance, to be sure; nor are the basic factors necessarily the same from one culture to another. For example, underlying cultural assumptions as to the normal or desirable, and therefore "just," economic contribution of the male, compared to his spouse, may vary widely. In some cases these assumptions may account for the male changing to produce agriculturally what he ceases to produce in hunting or fishing. In other cases, perhaps, no such reason or motivation may prevail. In Cayuá culture prevalent ideas about the economic obligations of men, as compared with women, may well have had a part in male compensation through agricultural production for decreasing hunting and fishing production.[180]

At least two specific factors appear to be historically related to the present Cayuá sexual division of labor in agriculture. Let us look first at (I. b.) the innovation of metal implements so important technologically to the increased scale of Cayuá farming. The alien machete and the axe were received from white men; men, that is, were the sex whom the Cayuá first saw using these tools. The Cayuá did not see much of the women of the invader probably for some time, and in any case, white women have very little to do with the machete and the axe. Cayuá men were by far the sex most in contact with the alien society and culture at first; even at present it is men who still primarily have to do with whites, since the *changa* and trading are both eminently masculine activities. Not only were Cayuá males in a better position to do any borrowing, therefore, but it is scarcely conceivable that the new metal tools could have come into Cayuá culture with other than connotations of masculine use.[181] The crucial significance of the new tools in the expansion of agriculture, added to the male use and connotations of the tools themselves, would seemingly favor the increasing agricultural role of men.

The growth of the *changa* (II. A. e.) may also have favored an increasing masculine role in Cayuá agriculture for the work of Cayuá men in the *changa* is generally agricultural work. Operations in wage-work are performed with the same metal implements which are now in use by the Cayuá. Thus, at some

[180] A suggestion of the values of Cayuá culture on this point is the report among the Coastal Tupi of the husband's economic obligations to his wife's people. Obligations of "bride service" existed among the Tupi unless they were "cancelled out" by reciprocity of spouse-giving within the terms of the kinship system. Such a practice, as we have said, is not authenticated by documents for the Cayuá but seems likely for a number of reasons. It indicates something about the general economic role of men.

[181] Here is certainly an excellent case in point for the analysis of "types of contact" of Herskovits, Redfield, and Linton. The question is whether the contact is of immigrant *men*, and what elements of culture are thus likely to be made available by the special alien group to the indigenous people among whom they live (Herskovits, 1938, p. 132).

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 182 241 462 476 the male duties of cutting, burning, and clearing *kokué* for planting, along extended family lines, or perhaps with inter-family helpfulness as well. As has been suggested, these usages would tend to be carried over into new male activities. However, as a theory it is conceivable that aboriginal male labor was characteristically rather individual—more so perhaps than the agricultural activity of women. Hunting, for example, especially since no drive is indicated aboriginally, and certain types of fishing may well have been primarily individual occupations. If so, here is a factor of tradition favoring individual work as men became more important in agriculture.

*177 182 462 464 476 648 Two acculturational factors seem definitely to have made for individual male labor, (II. A. e.) the *changa* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Brazilians. (Practically only men of the Cayuá engage in *changa* and trade.) Neither of these activities is easily amenable to jointness or cooperativeness. In *changa* a man usually works alone for his Neo-Brazilian *patrão*. Joint wage work of Cayuá is unusual, never involving more than two or three, and even here payment is individual; the *changa* is by definition antithetical to cooperation. Thus the Cayuá is accustomed, while working for settlers, to performing (agricultural) work alone. In *changa*, even cutting, firing, and clearing are done individually, though these activities among the Cayuá possibly had joint or cooperative aspects in aboriginal times. In other words, as the *changa* has become more important to the Cayuá, an increasing amount of their agricultural work has taken on a purely individual character. It seems reasonable that this has favorably influenced the singlehanded performance of work in agriculture among the Cayuá themselves.

*177 182 43 464 476 The Cayuá distribution and use of the white goods obtained in trade and *changa* is also an influence for individual work. The distribution of any goods is related to the question of who does the work of producing them. Hence, if it changes, distribution may be expected to have some influence for change upon the division of labor, and vice versa. In aboriginal times, everything leads us to believe, much of production such as agriculture, fishing, and perhaps other types, was on a joint basis within extended family households. Joint distribution at that time was consistent with the prevailing joint production. The aboriginal products of joint labor were largely food, and food can be readily divided and apportioned jointly. Food was thus consumed by the same people who produced it—as is the case in general in relatively undifferentiated, simple economies where there is no class stratification of society.

Trade goods, however, present a problem of distribution quite different from that of jointly produced food. The bulk of trade goods, like their aboriginal equivalents, pots, articles of clothing, implements, and so forth, are matters of individual concern. These items could not easily, like food, be distributed and consumed jointly, and this was probably as true aboriginally as it is with modern trade goods. Yet to the extent that the Cayuá barter for trade goods, it is largely food (agricultural produce) which they give to the whites

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

in exchange. What would be the effect on the aboriginal joint production and distribution system of the exchange of joint produce for articles which were to be individually used? Could one well take corn from joint household stores to exchange for a machete which primarily would be his own? There was thus a tendency to produce individually goods which were to be bartered for benefits enjoyed individually.

In the *changa* the problem of trade goods is more simply resolved. An individual can more easily exchange his services for individual compensation than he can goods which are jointly produced. It is likely, furthermore, that the exchange of services for trade goods in the *changa* preceded any significant exchange of Cayuá produce for trade goods. Thus the ground may well have been broken for some individualization of production before the people actually began to trade their corn and other produce.

To sum up the reasons for a growing individualization of work, particularly in agriculture, the *changa* and trade with Neo-Brazilians are both conducted along lines in which individual work is almost exclusively involved. In the second place, they both imply certain conflicts, especially regarding distribution of goods, with aboriginal forms of joint or cooperative labor and production. These conflicts, together with the technical feasibility of individual work, have been important causes of the decrease of joint and cooperative labor and production.

With reference to housebuilding, one other activity where modern individualization is noted, it will merely be registered here that a change from joint and cooperative work to more highly individual work has apparently occurred among the Cayuá, as a result of acculturational factors. Housebuilding activities are intimately connected with the complex of causes and effects to be discussed with (II. B. e.) the decrease in size of the production and consumption units. Analysis of the present point, then, will be left until later.[163]

II. B. e. "Production-consumption group: size and composition of basic unit shift from extended family to elementary family. Closely related are (1) a change to small house types, and (2) a modification of dwelling patterns (at Taquapiri), re location of house near *kokwé*." The change of the basic social unit has two broad aspects, (a) the feasibility of the elementary family, and (b) the desirability of the change from the aboriginal extended family. We shall treat the two aspects somewhat separately.[164]

[163] Indeed, the entire present question of a greater emphasis on individual work is closely related to a number of points which follow, including what is described as (II. B. g.) a change in attitudes as to relations of individual and group. Very likely they are all but different facets of a single broad question, and the whole will not be seen well until the various facets have all been analysed.

[164] The distinction between "feasibility" and "desirability" here and elsewhere in this paper relates closely to Homans' "Three elements or determinants of the behavior of individuals in groups," *operations*, *sentiments*, and *interactions*. (Homans, 1947, pp. 13 ff.) "Feasibility" would imply, in Homans' scheme, practically the same thing as operations possible on the environment,

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Catanduvá are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caiuá* (*Kayguá*).

The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Nototocudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24° S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in the forests like the *Guayaki* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).

At present most of the *Caingué* groups are in constant contact with the Mestizos and Whites, and many *Caingué* work as peons in the estancias, in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes, tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

Population.—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Caingué* at about 3,000.

Sources.—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Caingué* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil. Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruiz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Caingué* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Caingué*. On the *Cayué* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Caingué*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Caingué*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

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226 Cayuá sets traps and snares in and about his *roça* to catch beasts which are preying on the crops.

A type of economic activity now quite important in a good number of cases is that which the Cayuá call by the southern Brazilian colloquialism, *changuear* or *changar*, which means to hire oneself out to another for payment in money or in kind — in effect, a sort of peonage. This is the strongest point of economic contact of the Cayuá of Taquapiry with the neighboring whites, for many of whom the Indians work for several weeks or even months out of a year, making *roças* or in the production of *herva mate* (Ilex paraguayensis). (Mate is one of the most important and characteristic products of the region for the Brazilian inhabitants.) Peonage is somewhat seasonal and occasional for most of the Cayuá, although a few men manage to spend rather extended periods of time away from the village during many parts of the year. Although perhaps fewer individuals work for whites than hunt and fish, as a rule more time is spent in such service by those who work this way than is spent in hunting and fishing. A large number of individuals practically never serve as peons, however, and others do such work only very irregularly. Peonage is probably the most direct and obvious way of getting those things for which the Cayuá have come to depend upon the whites, knives and machetes, cloth and thread, salt, soap, iron pots, cooking grease, meat, hats, etc. There is very little demand for the products of the Indians themselves, other than for their mere labor, and in such crude and unorganized markets as can be said to exist for the sale of Indian products the Cayuá almost inevitably come off second best at the hands of their white neighbors.

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The most important parts of the woman's role in Cayuá economy, beyond her ubiquitous household tasks of cooking, cleaning, and tending children and chickens, are those related to agricultural activities. Woman is the burden-bearer *par excellence* of the Cayuá. The female, through the use of a tumpline carrying basket, constitutes the transportation system of Cayuá economy. The Cayuá woman also assists at many important points in the actual production of food in the *roça*, and can, as far as the division of labor goes, in the case of a widow or a divorcée, do almost any work except the heaviest of agricultural labor. This latter situation is not very frequent, however, and merely serves to show the range of the female economic role

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6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Cayuá Peonage

In turning now to Cayuá peonage, we should perhaps call to mind the remarks made earlier in this article regarding the practice of the Cayuá to *"changuear"* for neighboring whites, that is to work for them for a few days or weeks, living in quarters provided by the *patrão*, or employer, eating (and paying for) the food he provides, and, finally, receiving goods, or sometimes money, in return for services rendered. Without considering all of the many possible aspects of this growing practice — a practice which could never have been present in Cayuá culture until whites began to settle in considerable numbers in the area — we may mention a few of the less debatable influences exercised by the arrangement upon the economy and the economic ideas of the Cayuá.

241 435 464 465 648

It is scarcely necessary to point out that this form of peonage provides the closest and most intense contact that yet exists between Cayuá and non-Indians and that it involves only men. Thus, whatever ideas may enter Cayuá culture by way of the peonage system will more than likely be introduced by the men. Apparently, a number of such ideas have entered and are still entering. Apart from the obvious effect of Cayuá experiments with new plants in their *roças*, new agricultural techniques (possibly), and maybe even new or improved tools (although actually the local whites are just about as "backward" as the Indians, and their agriculture is clearly based in large part on that of the Indians), one of the most important influences of the peonage system on Cayuá economy is the introduction of money or other exchange values with regard to Cayuá goods and services, not only without Cayuá society but also within.

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From working for whites and for their own self-interest and protection, the Cayuá who serve as peons have naturally developed a fairly clear idea of the conventional values in money or goods of their various services: a day's work, or more likely a given unit area of *capoeira*,[23] is worth so much to *roçar* or clear. If it is very "dirty", that is, if it requires considerable work to clear, it is worth more; if relatively "clean", not so much. The rate of payment for planting would also be different because the *"serviço,"* or work involved, is

[23] Scrub second growth where a roça has been cut at least once before.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4 Cayua

241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
be cheated by his *patrão* – at that point in the arrangement, at least.
• 464 Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but
465 also that of different values in keeping with different services.

Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
648 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
466 from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
177 Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating prac-
[273] tices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga* [33]
furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal cir-
cumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are
determined by "market influences" – alleged at least, if the "market"
happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dicker-
ing always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth
would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides
that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will
probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts
payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to
know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple,
essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money,
he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one
of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportun-
ity for the Cayuá – even the non-peon sometimes – to become ac-
customed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods
and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given
products and services.

177 The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
178 for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
437 as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products
438 of the Cayuá *roça* coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for
a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but
the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among them-
selves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

[33] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the writer was an intra-group sale of rice, a product which is not universally planted by the Cayuá at Taquapiry. Chickens, too, which not everyone possesses, are fairly commonly bought or bartered. There is still a great deal of gift-giving or "lending" of course, with indefinite but nevertheless mutually understood implications. This fact, together with the fact that gifts and loans still predominate, seem to make the sale and barter type of exchange noteworthy as almost certainly recently introduced features of Cayuá economy.

But the matter has developed farther — and here there is certainly adequate evidence for postulating the definite introduction of the trait. Specified services are being contracted for between Cayuá at rates of compensation which are fixed and stated before the services are performed. A man (or a woman — a widow, in the cases observed) will *capinar* (weed) a certain amount of *roça* in return for which he or she will be paid so many meters of cloth, for example, by the "*patrão*". The Cayuá still refer to these arrangements with humor, especially to the part about one of them acting as "*patrão*." But there can be no doubt that such arrangements are being made with sufficient frequency to represent more than merely isolated incidents, bereft of wider significance.

It would be interesting to consider further the effect upon the older institution of the joint work party, with its *chicha*, of this occasional payment of individual services. Clearly, some of the work which the Cayuá *roça*-owner finds himself unable or unwilling to perform, and which formerly would presumably have been done, if at all, by a *puxirão* party followed by the serving of *chicha*, may now be done for direct and specified payment on a basis that is largely commercial. Perhaps, then, the reference by some informants to the "cost" of a *puxirão*, in corn for *chicha*, is not as strained or figurative as it might seem: the price concept may now have invaded the institution of the *puxirão*, which could hardly have been based on any such concept in the past. There is every reason to think that formerly — and still today, in many respects — the basis of the *puxirão* work party was one of mutual asistance, the acceptance of social and reciprocal obligations, and pride in the quantity and quality of the *chicha*, all of which are somewhat divorced from any direct and immediate calculation of the value of the *chicha* in relation to the value of the work done at the *puxirão*. In other words, the "social

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/fn. 2 cont./ from the corocotoquys to the paycunos two, and near them are the curumanos and ximeonos, and from there they take a four or five days' journey to the carcaras who are the masters of the metal, and together with them are the camires who similarly are the masters of the metal." Naturally the "maya" concerned in some of these lists are the Mbayá /Mbaya/ of the Guaikurú /Guaicuru/ family.

G 174 179 648 169

/302/ This infiltration of objects probably lasted a very long time before the Guarani had the idea of going themselves to get them at their source. Notions about the Inca Empire, at first vague and uncertain, must have become more precise little by little and must have increased their desire to know with their own eyes the fabulous men and countries which produced so many beautiful and strange things. We must imagine the attitude of the Guarani Indians toward the populations subject to the Inca as being /303/ in every way similar to that of their descendants, the Chiriguano, and the present-day small tribes of the Chaco with respect to the white men. There are still tribes who have never seen them, but who already possess iron objects whose importance in the struggle for life they appreciate fully. I have in my collections two Tsirakua burins whose points are of iron, and yet these Indians have never seen a white man and probably have scarcely heard of them. If there is a chance to be able to approach without danger half-breed or creole villages, they will do it. Thus it is that we have each year a temporary migration of thousands of Indians toward the ingenios (sugar mills) of Argentina. Among the numerous tribes which make their way toward the sugar-cane plantations, there are perhaps many who had never had any direct contact with the white men to whom they are going in order to seek an easing of their lives and an improvement in their material conditions. By leaving for the Chaco and the Andes, the Guarani thus obey the same aspirations as these poor Tsawanko (Chiriguano) whom one meets in autumn on the highways which lead to Argentina.

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/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155)

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

3:Oliveira--140 E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Guarani SM4

[Francisco Horta]

/97 cont./ But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all the communities studied are characterized by being turned toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, although as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]